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degrees of control exerted by that central authority on the territory. These processes have necessarily had an impact on the autonomy and social significance of Hutu and Tutsi kinship groups, on their connexion with a particular tract of land, and on their functions. We shall not be concerned here with any reconstruction of these processes but only with them as they existed in the immediate pre-European days. It should be borne in mind, however, that this was the period of an evolution. This explains the sometimes confused picture given by some informants.

(*a*) *Inzu, ubwoko, umulyango*

Hutu and Tutsi recognized a patrilineal kin group (*inzu*)[3] which included all who could actually trace their agnatic relationship through usually no more than four or five ascendent genealogical links to an ancestor recognized as the original ancestor of the group.

Members of the inzu of a male Ego were: Br, Si, Fa, FaSi, FaBr, FaBrSo, FaBrDa, FaFa, FaFaBr, FaFaSi, FaFaBrSo, FaFaBrDa, FaFaBrSoSo, FaFaBrSoDa.[4]

Ego's sororal nephews and nieces (SiSo, SiDa) and his paternal cross-cousins (FaSiSo and FaSiDa) did not belong to his *inzu*. However they participated in some of its activities if they lived with their maternal uncle (Ego), which happened when the bride-wealth for their mother (Ego's Si) had not been entirely paid.

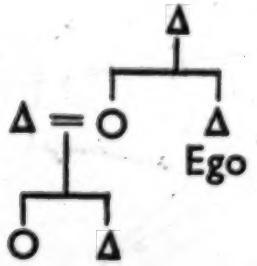

Diagram A.

Other generations above Ego's (that of FaFaFa, &c.) or under his (that of SoSoSo, &c.), were not necessarily included in Ego's

[3] *Inzu* means also hut.
[4] I follow the symbolization system used by Murdock, 1949.

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inzu. Their inclusion depended on the situation of Ego's generation with regard to the ancestor recognized as the originator of the group. Suppose a new inzu had begun with F (Diagram B), in the sense that F's descendants referred to themselves as 'people of F' rather than as 'people of A' (as F referred to himself). In that case, Ego would not consider E (FaFaFaFa) as of his inzu although he knew that he was the father of his great-grandfather.

Or suppose that D was considered as the origin of the inzu. In that case Ego's son, J, was separated from D by five links. It was quite possible that if, for instance, G had had many children and had been a man of standing and repute, J and K (and all G's descendants in their generations) would some day refer to themselves as 'people of G'. As long as Ego was living, however, J would consider himself as a member of the same inzu as his father and Ego would not think of his son as belonging to another inzu. One informant, Kayijuka, told us that one of his great-grandchildren will probably take the initiative in forming the new inzu of 'people of Kayijuka'.[5]

Although the inzu was a transitory group about six generations deep, it must be understood that the formation of a new inzu was not rigidly determined and did not automatically happen at the birth of the first child in the seventh generation. The operative factors were mainly the fast growing number of inzu members after a few generations (in genealogies collected, the sixth

Diagram B.

[5] This was no boast as Kayijuka is now a very important political personality in Ruanda. It may be of interest to mention that Kayijuka was at the court, as a young nobleman, when the first Europeans entered the country. At that time there was a considerable amount of suspicion on both sides. A missionary asked him to point out the queen-mother among the women who were present at the Court. This was prohibited as it was feared that the White Fathers could harm her by magic. Kayijuka did it, however, and for that reason, when the visitors had gone, he was blinded with a red hot iron. But as on the following day he addressed somebody by name after having recognized the voice, it was believed that the operation had not been a success and it was performed a second time. Kayijuka is now a loyal courtier of the king.

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generation alone seems to comprise about 100 persons), the existence of a man prominent (by wealth, political functions, &c.) among the descendants closer than the fifth, or a change of residence. The first two factors were usually realized in the span of six generations. If they were not, and if the inzu remained a small group of, say, a dozen people, these and their descendants went on referring to themselves as 'people of' an ancestor of the seventh, eighth, or ninth generation. One informant told us that his own inzu, already six generations deep, was not yet numerous enough to be split into new ones though it probably would be after two more generations. The fact that the ancestor of a new inzu was chosen, and was not simply the son of the ancestor of the former inzu, shows that there was a definite emphasis on the personal prominence of the ancestor.

Among the Tutsi, it seems that inzu tended to grow rather large before segmenting. In their intrigues for power, it was an advantage to be connected by agnatic links to many and important people. Consequently, before initiating the formation of a new inzu, the Tutsi were very cautious: they did not want to diminish their social power by severing their connexions with the members of their present inzu. Besides, a change of residence was a less compelling reason for the Tutsi to split the inzu: they were not attached to a particular region to the same extent as the Hutu; when appointed to different offices, they often had to move from one part of the country to another and they frequently travelled to the court.

The formation of a new inzu was not necessarily a segmentation resulting in the concomitant formation of two new units of the same age and importance. It could happen that among the inzu 'people of A', those of the sixth generation who were the descendants of B preferred to think of themselves as 'people of B' because B was a famous warrior and they were numerous enough to constitute an inzu of their own. This did not compel those of the sixth generation who were descendants of C and D to do the same. They would go on considering themselves 'people of A'. After a couple more generations, when the number of the descendants of F had increased, they would refer to themselves as 'people of F' who was a rich owner of cows, and the descendants of G as 'people of G' because he had been an important province chief, whereas the descendants of C would some day take the name of 'people of E' if they moved into another region.

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The *ubwoko* was the largest kin group of the patrilineal type. Its members recognized a traditional bond of common descent in the paternal line, but were definitely unable to trace their

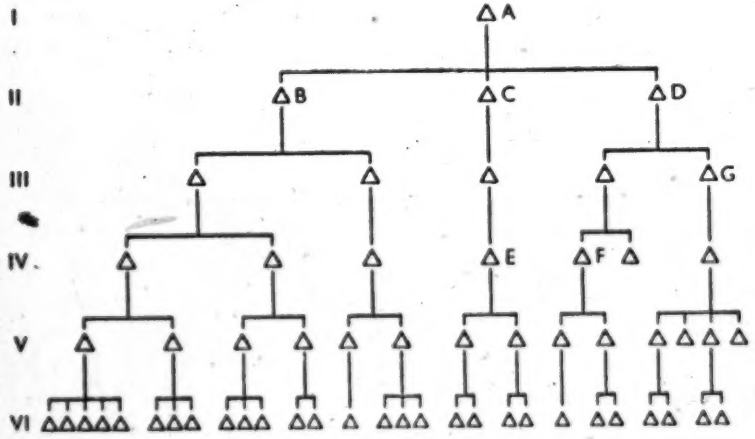

Diagram C.

relationship to the ancestor who was, perhaps, mythical. Two members of the same ubwoko have an idea of a certain kinship tie between them, but nothing more. Ubwoko were geographically dispersed.

There were thirteen such groupings in Ruanda: Abanyiginya (the royal ubwoko), Abega (the ubwoko from which the queens usually came), Abatsoba, Abacyaba, Abasinga, Abatira, Abakono, Abaniakarama, Abazigaba, Abagesera, Ababanda, Abaha, Abashambo. This number was consistent for a very long time. Ubwoko were permanent groups.[6]

Larger in membership than inzu and smaller than ubwoko, a third kinship group called *umulyango* existed in Ruanda. What it was is not quite clear in the mind of most of our informants. This is due, I think, to the fact that umulyango varied considerably in their degree of organization, corporateness, and functions. But also there was some uncertainty in terminology: the same group, say the Abahindiro, has been referred to by our informants sometimes as inzu, and sometimes as umulyango.

[6] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 41-45 and 235 f.

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Umulyango appears to have been the group of living people who would have belonged to the same inzu if that primitive inzu had not split into new ones. This explains the fluidity of the use of the term. For instance the word 'Abareganshuro' (people of Mureganshuro) has meant first 'the members of the inzu of Mureganshuro'; then, after the splitting of that inzu, 'the members of the umulyango of Mureganshuro'. When an inzu divided into different new ones, the ancestor of the former one became the ancestor of the umulyango. Thus the umulyango link existed between members of different inzu having the same origin.

As may be expected, the strength of these links was quite different at the time of the splitting and a few generations afterwards. This accounts for the fact that in some cases the umulyango appears almost as a corporate group very similar to an inzu, and in other cases as a purely nominal group.

The span of life of an umulyango seems less defined than that of an inzu. It is doubtful, however, whether it was longer. Suppose inzu A splits into B and C and becomes umulyango A. Six generations later inzu B splits into inzu D and E and becomes umulyango B. At that time it is very likely that the primitive ancestor being twelve generations past will not be clearly remembered and that, except for some extraordinary reason, he will be superseded by the ancestor of umulyango B.

Descent groups in Ruanda were thus of two different types A permanent group, the ubwoko which fulfilled the definition of patriclan (if exogamy be excluded from that definition) and two temporary groups, inzu and umulyango, the second being rather the surviving shadow of the first. The latter were both patrilineages. As they were not segments in the same sense as among, e.g. the Nuer, it would be misleading to differentiate them according to the terminology of Evans-Pritchard.[7] We would suggest calling inzu a primary and umulyango a secondary patrilineage in order to convey the idea that the umulyango originated from the inzu and that the inzu's functions were more important for the individual and society at large than those of the umulyango.[8]

[7] Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-4.

[8] Members of the inzu were called *bavandimwe* (which primarily means sibling), agnatic relatives, *benewacu* and relatives, affines included, *abacu*.

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(b) Organization and activities of the inzu

The primary patrilineage had a head who was usually called *umutware w'inzu* (chief of the inzu). Sometimes he was designated *umutware w'umulyango* (chief of the umulyango) even when his group was clearly an inzu. Among the Hutu, particularly in the north (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), he was often called *umukungu*.

The man who first formed a new inzu did not necessarily become its head: he could choose its chief from among his uncles, brothers, cousins, or sons. Then the lineage head chose his successor. He was usually the eldest son but he could be any son or a nephew. If the person chosen seemed unacceptable to the Ruanda administrative authority, a meeting of the inzu was held and the political chief asked them to choose another inzu head. If the objections came from the group itself, they could resort to the umulyango head—if the umulyango concerned was still a strong group—or to the administrative authority, or in the case of an Hutu inzu which depended on only one lord for its cattle (*shebuja*), to him.

In addition to presiding over the collective activities of his lineage, the head had some power of his own. He was a judge in disputes between the members of his inzu; he also had the right to punish a member of his inzu who had wronged another, except in the case of murder, when the political authority was responsible for the punishment. Anyway, those who were dissatisfied with the decisions of the lineage head could always appeal to the political chief. Sometimes the lineage head legislated for the members of the inzu. A Hutu informant told us that his grandfather, who was the inzu head, had prohibited cross-cousin marriage in his inzu. The lineage head also detailed members for military service and assigned individual contributions to the tax required by the authorities. Officially and towards individual outsiders, he acted as the representative of the inzu. When a girl of his inzu ran away from her husband, he tried to settle the dispute with the head of the husband's inzu. He was responsible for the inzu's tax contribution and for handing over to the political authority any member of the lineage who had committed a crime against an outsider.

The significance of the inzu as a collective body was apparent in ritual, marriage, mutual aid, and blood-feud. In the ritual

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sphere, there was the initiation of a member of the inzu into the Ryangombe sect. Ryangombe was supposed to have been during his life the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. Unwilling to leave Ryangombe, his friends threw themselves on the buffalo's horns. Imana gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they were believed to enjoy a notably more agreeable life than the other spirits. In order to have the privilege of joining them there and of enjoying their protection while living, Ruanda had to be initiated into Ryangombe's sect (to be initiated: *kubandwa*). This sect was not a permanent organization, in the sense that churches are. It was only for an initiation ceremony that people who were members of the candidate's inzu as well as members of the sect, came together. An initiator and the different people who were going to impersonate the imandwa (Ryangombe's friends) were chosen from the inzu concerned. The initiation ceremony took place in a hut, secretly (in the sense that non-initiates were not admitted, but not in the sense that affiliation to the sect was kept secret). It was an occasion for the gathering of the inzu as the great majority of its members, men and women, particularly among the Hutu, were initiated.

A second collective ritual was celebrated yearly in the inzu to honour the ancestor of the lineage (*guterekera*: to make an offering to a *muzimu*—a spirit). Presents were offered in the little hut dedicated to the ancestor's spirit in the lineage head's compound. They consisted of what the deceased person liked most in life (milk, hydromel, beans, &c.). This celebration lasted six days and six nights and took place after the sorghum harvesting, in July. There was a kind of ritual meal at the inzu head's compound in which every descendant of the ancestor participated (a cow, a goat, or beans were eaten according to the means of the people). This custom was more widespread among the Hutu than among the Tutsi, where, also, more restraint in eating, drinking, and feasting was observed.

Another collective activity of the inzu was the meeting of councils in which all the important members of the inzu sat. Sometimes all the adults joined, but it was certain that the opinions of only the old, wealthy, and politically powerful men would prevail. The questions discussed concerned proposals of

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marriage coming from another inzu or to be made to another inzu, and whether the council thought that a connexion with such or such lineage was to be accepted, sought, or avoided. A certain number of disputes that the lineage head could not or would not settle alone were submitted to the council. When somebody had lost his cattle and was ruined, the council could determine and apportion a collective contribution to help him out of his difficulties. Finally, blood-feuds were discussed. When a member of the group had been killed by a member of another all the kinsmen of the victim attempted to retaliate by taking of the life of a kinsman of the offender. Compensation was not usual. I was told, however, by the Hutu of Bugoyi that there the murderer's group could prevent the taking of vengeance by handing over a beautiful girl. Political authority kept the feuds under strict control. Permission to retaliate had to be obtained from the king and when it was granted and vengeance had been achieved, the feud was at an end. No further vengeance could be taken. Sometimes the king made representatives of the two lineages share a meal.

As the preceding paragraphs suggest, there was no clear-cut division between the powers of the head and of the council. It was a question of the particular traditions in each inzu and of the individual characters of the persons concerned. Usually, however, the inzu was an oligarchy rather than a monarchy. The head could not rule in opposition to the men of standing in his lineage; they had the means to put pressure on him and then there was the possibility of recourse to the political chiefs, always glad to interfere in a domain which was not completely under their control.

The obligations and rights of the individual members of a primary patrilineage were many. There was first a prohibition on sexual intercourse within the group, which applied to relations whether in or out of wedlock. It was feared that the mating of descendants from the same inzu ancestor would produce sickly and malformed children. A few informants add that exogamy was necessary to promote connexions between descent-groups, these connexions being thought of as beneficial in a vague way. The Ruanda did not distinguish incestuous relations from prohibited relations because of consanguinity. For them all the latter were incestuous. But they recognized order in the degrees of gravity in

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613 835 incestuous relationships. The most serious in the inzu would be between Ego and Da or Ego and FaSi. These were said never to occur. Incest was viewed with horror as a beastly thing, a view reflected in one of the words used to describe it, *ubuhene*. The root of this word is *ihene* (goat) because, as an informant put it, only he-goats pair with their mothers and sisters. A breach of this rule was the concern of everybody in the group as it was likely to bring about calamities affecting them all.

613 496 Another duty of a member of a primary lineage *vis-à-vis* any of his kinsmen was that of rendering assistance when he was in difficulties (as for instance when a father was unable to help his son to pay bride-wealth or when the cows of a herdsman had been killed by an illness). This obligation was particularly binding when the misfortune was no fault of the victim, but even if it was, aid was often given. As has been mentioned, the lineage-head or the council usually determined the amount to be contributed by everybody. But mutual help was also an individual duty.

[697] A kinsman could enlist the help of the wise and experienced men of his inzu when he had to go to the tribunal. He was accompanied by them, and was helped not only by their advice but also and sometimes mainly by the mere fact of their moral support. The chief who was judging could see the power of the group behind the plaintiff or the defendant.

Inzu solidarity operated both actively and passively in blood-feuds. All adult kinsmen of the victim were obliged to take up arms and carry out vengeance. Kinsmen of the murderer had to defend themselves and all adult males of his inzu had to accept the risk of being killed because of their kinsman's crime.

613 764 When a member of the inzu died, all others met in the deceased's hut and watched by the corpse for eight days. After this the corpse was not buried but thrown away in some isolated place, such as the top of a rocky hill, which could be used by the people of any inzu living nearby. Mourning lasted two months for a man and one month for a woman. During that period there was a 613 765 prohibition on intercourse for people very closely connected with the deceased (his son, his wife, his son's wife, his father). At the end of the mourning period all the inzu gathered together again. [833] There was a beer-feast and obligatory intercourse for all the inzu members with their own spouses. When there was no spouse, as

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for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Ruanda, the present-day districts (*territoires*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

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interactions of Ego and Alter once an organized system of interaction between themselves has become stabilized. 'Alter expects Ego to behave in given situational conditions in certain relatively specific ways, or at least within relatively specific limits.'[10]

Members of an inzu were supposed to have more confidence in each other and to be readier to help and sympathize with each other than with outsiders. Within the inzu itself, each member was expected to assume a certain role which defined, within narrow limits, expected behaviour towards other lineage members. Before these intra-inzu roles are described, a list of kinship terms used within the inzu to address or designate members, will be given. Some characteristics of these behaviour patterns are reflected in the terminology, as, for instance, the predominance within the lineage of the horizontal or generation principle of grouping over the vertical grouping by branches of the lineage.

Data will be presented first and implications analysed at a later stage. Our point of reference will be the conventional Ego. All the terms and their symbolizations are to be understood as relating to Ego who is a male (Tutsi, Hutu, or Twa). The same terms are used by a male as by a female, except where otherwise indicated: f.s. (female speaking) and m.s. (male speaking).

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's father		
Fa	Data	Data
FaBr	Data	Datawacu (father-our)
FaSi	Mama	Masenge (mother through father)
FaFaBrSo	Data	Datawacu
FaFaBrDa	Mama	Masenge
FaFaFaBrSoSo	Data	Datawacu
FaFaFaBrSoDa	Mama	Masenge
II. The generation of Ego's grandfather		
FaFa	Sogokuru (kuru = great)	Sogokuru
FaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
FaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
FaFaFaBrSo	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
FaFaFaBrDa	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. The generation of Ego's great-grandfather		
FaFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
FaFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
FaFaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuruza

[10] Parsons and Shils, 1951, p. 19.

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the absence of a taboo on sex-relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law may have induced some severe fathers to punish their sons in this way). As long as their fathers lived, sons were never emancipated.[13]

The father had a slightly different attitude towards his daughter, though she certainly had to obey and respect him. Like the boys the girls went to sleep later than their parents and got up earlier. They participated in a large measure in the domestic chores, among the Hutu. They were more closely associated with their mother, the father did not have the task of punishing them, and they were never beaten by him after puberty. They were said usually to have great influence on their father and could get what they wanted from him. When they married the father received the bride-wealth, but he had to supply some of the counter-gifts. Marriage did not cut the links between the girl and her inzu which remained her inzu. But her close connexion with her husband's inzu sometimes divided her loyalties, though I was told that this was rare and anyway not a part of her expected behaviour. *Amahitamo yaje, umwana ni uwa se* (when a choice has to be made, one is the child of one's father).

Ego regarded his paternal uncle very much as another father. He referred to him as 'our father'. Like the father, the father's brother had the right to punish. This is why a man who had committed some offence did not dare to take refuge with his paternal uncle. Their relations were, however, more cordial and less tense: the paternal uncle was the usual intermediary between Ego and Fa when the former wanted to obtain something from the latter. Ego, for instance, told his FaBr first when he wished to marry. There was no significant difference of behaviour towards the father's brothers, unless the relative ages of Ego and his FaBr were exceptional. If the nephew and his uncle were about the same age, there was a more familiar relationship between them. If FaBr was about as old as Fa, the attitude was more polite and respectful.

The paternal aunt (FaSi) had perhaps a still more prominent position. As she had received no part of her father's heritage, she felt free to ask from her father or from her brothers whatever she wanted for her nephews (Ego's children). Moreover, as her nephews could marry her daughers without any very urgent

[13] Cf. Vincent, 1934, pp. 106-14.

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to the oldest brother's as regards her younger sisters. But the importance of seniority was less stressed among sisters than among brothers. There was often rivalry between married sisters as there was no taboo on intercourse between a woman and her sister's husband.

Sisters and brothers were playmates during their childhood. After puberty their relations were restricted, but certainly not to the point of avoidance. As girls did not inherit from the father, as they were the prospective paternal aunts of the future children of their brothers, the relations between siblings of opposite sexes did not manifest the same covert strain as that between brothers.

Parallel paternal male cousins of Ego were assimilated to his brothers, but as there was no inheritance rivalry, and as Ego was not required to manifest a particular respect for his eldest cousin, Ego's actual relation with his parallel cousins was in fact more fraternal than with his brothers. Ego considered the daughters of his paternal uncle as sisters with whom there was a marriage prohibition. There was consequently a certain reserve between them which, however, did not prevent them from exchanging obscene jokes at a celebration or a gathering, but any sexual acts were severely tabooed.

(*d*) *Organization and activities of the umulyango and the ubwoko*

The two other descent groups may be described much more briefly. The secondary patrilineage when it had just divided from the primary group continued to share in the previous functions of the formerly united inzu. There were still gatherings of the descendants of the umulyango's ancestor, mutual aid, judgements in disputes, and participation in the blood-feuds. But gradually these activities were confined more and more within the new inzu and after an intermediate period, the umulyango generally disappeared as a corporate group.[13] Obviously if the splitting was due to a change of residence or a dispute, the functions of the former inzu were very quickly assumed by the new one and relations with other branches of the former inzu (which then constituted an umulyango) were not very close.

Did the umulyango as such have any special characteristics or activities? All our informants agree on the rule of exogamy.

[13] For a definition of a corporate group see Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950, p. 41.

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613 When the umulyango had a head (chosen in a similar way to the inzu head), he is said to have had the power to give orders to the heads of the component inzu and to draw up general rules for all the umulyango members. I was told, for instance, that the chief of a certain umulyango had ruled that the members should not marry girls of the ubwoko of the Abacyaba. This prohibition about 150 years old is still observed. When the secondary lineage had a head, he fulfilled very much the same function as an 'appeal court' for all decisions taken within the inzu. Such an umulyango organization existed among Hutu and Tutsi, but seems to have been more common in the important Tutsi lineages.

614 The patriclan (ubwoko) had no head and no collective activities. It was usually agamous, although there may have been an exogamy rule in one particular clan. An animal species was associated with each clan. Its members were not allowed to kill any of them and were even obliged to protect them. The animal was not thought of as a reincarnation of the ancestor's spirit but probably only as a living symbol of the clan.[14]

614 563 Unlike the inzu and the umulyango, any ubwoko could have both Tutsi and Hutu among its members. There was no purely Hutu or purely Tutsi patriclan. When asked if this meant that Tutsi and Hutu of the same clan descended from the same ancestor, Tutsi answered that it did not. They explain it by the relationships which have linked Hutu to Tutsi as clients or servants. After some time the Hutu were identified with the group of their master. Such identification was particularly easy since Tutsi frequently emigrated from one region of Ruanda to another with their Hutu clients and servants. Some Hutu told me that as Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa (mythical figures who, as their names indicate, were supposed to be ancestors of the three groups) were brothers, it is not impossible that Tutsi and Hutu of one clan could have had the same ancestor. At all events clansmen who were of different socio-'racial' groups did not exhibit any solidarity at all and behaved towards each other as complete strangers.

613 562 As has been said, Ego's wife belonged to her own patrilineage for ever. This is why the social role of Ego's wife has not been mentioned in this section. But as she took part in many of the

[14] Some examples of the totemic animals of patriclans are: Abazigaba, the leopard (*ingwe*), Abasinga, the hawk (*sakabaka*), Abega, the frog (*igiheli*), Abagesera, the wagtail (*nyamaswa*), Abacyaba, the hyena (*impyisi*).

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activities of her husband's inzu and was not bound by all the obligations common to the members of her own inzu, a few words should be added about her behaviour in this connexion.

She participated in the cult of Ego's (=her husband's) ancestor and of her own ancestor, but she was not allowed to build a shrine in honour of her ancestor in Ego's enclosure. She gave the ritual gifts at the birth of a child in her own inzu as well as in Ego's inzu, and did the same at marriage ceremonies. In times of mourning, Ego's inzu was predominant: his wife had to practise sexual abstention for two or three months when Ego's parents died. For her own parents she was not bound by any such observances. She received protection from her husband's group, but from her own only when she had disputes with Ego's lineage

2. THE DESCENT GROUP OF EGO'S MOTHER

A man (or a woman) was not a member of his mother's patrilineage, which is why in the preceding section only his agnates were considered. But the picture of Ego's position in kinship relations would be incomplete if it were limited to that. Ego's mother's agnates were not complete strangers to him. In everyday life, he met them often and his culture provided him with roles to assume in these circumstances. In some cases Ego's behaviour to 'maternal' kin was very similar to that which he was expected to observe towards the agnatic counterpart of that kin.

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's mother		
Mo	Mama	Mama
MoBr	Data	Marume
MoSi	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaBrSo	Data	Marume
MoFaBrDa	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSo	Data	Marume
MoFaFaBrSoDa	Mama	Mamawacu
II. The generation of Ego's maternal grandfather		
MoFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. The generation of Ego's maternal great-grandfather		
MoFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuruza

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3. EGO'S CROSS-LINE RELATIVES

602 The cross-line relatives of Ego are people who are socially recognized as related to him although they do not belong either to his parents' descent groups or to the category of his relatives by affinity.

[605] [604] In Ruanda, the category of cross-line relatives was limited to Ego's paternal cross-cousins, his maternal parallel cousins, their descendants, his sororal nephews and nieces, and their descendants.

Paternal cross-cousins did not belong to Ego's father's patrilineage since they were members of their own father's (FaSiHu of Ego) lineage. It could be said that they were agnates of FaSiHu who was himself an affine of Ego. It seems, however, that the link between Ego and his paternal cross-cousins was their mother (FaSi) and not their father (FaSiHu). This is why I do not include Ego's paternal cross-cousins among Ego's affines.

Maternal cross-cousins were not Ego's cross-line relatives because they were related to Ego as agnates of Ego's mother. On the contrary maternal parallel cousins of Ego were cross-line relatives of Ego's mother: her sororal nephews and nieces. Ego was not related to them through his MoSiHu but through his MoSi as the term of reference used by Ego indicates: child-of-my-maternal-aunt (*mwenemamawacu*). This is why I regard them as Ego's cross-line relatives.

604 Ego was related to his sororal nephews and nieces through his sister in spite of the fact that her children belonged to her husband's agnatic group.

601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
FaSiSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
FaSiDa	Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoSiSo	Muvandimwe	Mwenemamawacu
MoSiDa	Muvandimwe	Mwenemamawacu
SiSo	Mwana	Mwishywawanjye
SiDa	Mwana	Mwishywawanjye

605 Familiarity, jesting, erotic games without actual intercourse before marriage, were the relations of paternal cross-cousins (as well as maternal cross-cousins) of the opposite sex. The difference was that paternal cross-cousins had to assist each other and often fought together in blood-feuds although, as they did not belong [613] to the same inzu, they could not be killed in retaliation.

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The last column of the table indicates the range of application of the term: is it classificatory or denotative? Although the nine preceding characteristics are criteria of the range of application, I have considered as denotative not only the terms which have these nine characteristics, but those which show only characteristics 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, i.e. generation, sex, distinction between affinity and consanguinity, lineality and collaterality, bifurcation by sex of connecting relative.

If we sum up the different symbols in the vertical lines, we obtain for the sixty-one terms of the table (fifty-five terms of reference and six of address) the following results:

1. Linguistic structure: 6 elementary terms, 48 derivative, 7 descriptive.
2. 54 denote generation, 7 do not.
3. 43 denote sex of the relative, 18 do not.
4. 54 do not cover both affinal and consanguineal relative together and 7 do.
5. 45 do not denote a class of people including lineal and collateral relatives, 16 do.
6. 34 indicate the sex of the person through whom kinship is traced, 19 do not and in 8 cases the question does not arise as there is no link.
7. 50 terms indicate polarity, 11 do not.
8. 59 do not denote age within generation, 2 do, and in 7 cases they ignore age differences by definition.
9. The speaker's sex is indicated in 16 cases, it is not in 45.
10. There is no case in which it is indicated whether the link is living or dead. Thus, except for the 8 cases in which there is no connecting relative, 53 terms ignore that characteristic.
11. 41 terms are classificatory and 20 are denotative.

(*b*) *Concluding remarks*

Let me conclude this chapter with a few remarks on the Ruanda system of kinship and affinity. They are suggested by the previous description of kinship roles or by the table.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally and a lineage is a corporate group of agnates. But Ego does not feel that all others are strangers. He lives, as it were, in a cognatic as well as an agnatic world. For help in important questions, when it is necessary for him to assert his rights to be assisted, he turns to his patrilineal kinsmen, but in

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that in questions of exogamy, informants mention it first and attempt to relate other categories to it: I refer to the primary patrilineage (inzu). People descending in the paternal line from a common ancestor did not intermarry because they were of the same blood. The same principle was logically extended to the secondary patrilineage (umulyango).

A second extension of the taboo concerned the maternal kinship group and had a double basis. First the idea that it would be unnatural and horrible to conceive a marriage between Ego and his mother and consequently between him and any person assimilated to her (her sisters and female parallel cousins). Second, because of the tendency to recognize the cognatic principle, some matrilateral relatives were tabooed because their paternal counterparts were tabooed. This applied to the maternal parallel cousins.

Only when Ego was a male was there a third extension to his in-laws. The explanation given is that it seemed distasteful that a man could have intercourse with a girl and her mother. Consequently the wife's mother and all the relatives assimilated to the mother were in the prohibited class.

The same taboo included also sororal nieces and grand-nieces of Ego because he had to assume an avuncular attitude towards them, although they belonged to another patrilineage.

A further extension included the spouses of uncles and aunts. The spouse of an aunt was regarded rather as an uncle, and the spouse of an uncle was regarded rather as an aunt.

Ruanda were so eager to form new connexions with unrelated kinship groups that they were very keenly aware of any factor favouring them. Some informants stressed the function of exogamy rules from that point of view. Increase of social communication by marriage does not explain all the particular prohibitions, however, since some of them were concerned with people of a different patrilineage. Taboos on marriage and sex relations (they were co-extensive) had, it appears, in some cases the function of keeping a certain cohesion within the large group of relatives by kinship and affinity by preventing rivalry. Prohibition of relations between Ego and his WiBrWi could not favour social communication, but it certainly made possible harmonious relations between Ego and his WiBr.

Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and

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Bride-wealth was definitely not a compensation for the economic loss entailed by the girl's departure from her patrilineage. Her departure was not an impoverishment of her group because it provided it with a new alliance with another descent group; all informants agree on that. Bride-wealth was the socially recognized symbol of the legitimate transfer of fertility from one descent group to another. As long as bride-wealth had not been given, children borne by the woman were considered as belonging to her inzu (they are called *nkuli*). The husband was only their genitor, not their pater.

Bride-wealth received by the girl's father was not to be used only to provide the bride's brother with a wife. There was no direct relation between a man's possibility of getting a wife and his sister's marriage.

(*c*) *The wedding ceremonies*

Wedding ceremonies (*ubukwe*) taking place at the groom's father's were very long and complicated. The central rite constituting the wedding was the spitting on the bride's head of chewed herbs mixed with milk, and the placing on her head of a garland made of the leaves of a certain plant (*umuwishywa*). Other rites symbolized the dominance of the patrilineages' interests in the marriage. Both inzu were represented by two groups, the *abashyitsi*, the agnatic relatives of the bride, and *abasangwa*, agnatic relatives of the groom. When the rite was accomplished, *abashyitsi* had to express sorrow by their laments and *abasangwa* to rejoice loudly. Another rite stressed the concern of the kin-groups in the intimate relations between the spouses. A younger brother or paternal parallel cousin of the bride had to lie between the new spouses during some part of their first night together (*gucahagati*). The groom had to beg him to leave. I was told that this signified that it was the bride's patrilineage which had to give permission for the first intercourse. Moreover, after the central rite and before the first intercourse, the father and mother of the groom and the father and mother of the bride had to have sexual relations. If the girl's parents (who did not attend the wedding party) were living far away, the young couple sometimes had to wait for a couple of days before having intercourse.[6]

The high value of virginity was also symbolically stressed.

[6] On wedding celebration, see Kagame, 1954, pp. 143-72.

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Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted.

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions.

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society.

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.[10]

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between

[10] Cf. Lestrade, 1935, pp. 85-86.

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conditions it was evidently impossible to socialize and to educate together all the children of the same polygynous family.

The father had very considerable authority to punish during the period of the educational processes, and could even go as far as to curse and disinherit his sons. He could not use such drastic punishments for daughters except in the case of a pregnancy of an unmarried one. Then she could be killed, but mainly because such an event was regarded as being unlucky for the whole lineage. This case has to be interpreted in connexion with those others in which the father could condemn a daughter to death for fear of her conveying ill-luck: these were should her breasts not develop or should she have no periods. The father could appeal to the inzu head when he was unable to discipline his children and the married children could appeal to him when they had been punished by sanctions they found too heavy.

(e) *Ritual function*

The inzu ancestor was honoured mainly in the compound of the patrilineage head. A small hut was devoted to him and on certain occasions all his descendants met to make offerings to him. Some of these occasions were fixed, others were decided only after consulting a diviner.

In each compound there was also a small hut dedicated to the spirits of the dead, where the ancestor of the patrilineage was honoured. The wife could not build there a hut for her own ancestors. Nearer forbears were honoured in the compound more than the inzu's ancestors: the husband's grandfather or great-grandfather. The husband introduced his wife to him saying: 'Here is the woman I have taken in order to beget children for you, to multiply your lineage.' The bull used for stud purposes was also presented to the great-grandfather's spirit. Not only forbears but other dead members of the patrilineage or the family were honoured, but less often.

Almost every day small offerings were made. A few drops of milk or of beer, or some beans or peas were thrown into the hut. Or a girl spent some time in the ancestor's hut to enable him to enjoy a woman. But sometimes the spirits required more.

We have mentioned earlier that they were often angry and could send illnesses, sterility, cattle-epidemics, and death. They were regarded as beneficial only in a negative way, i.e. when they did

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At the end of the nineteenth century the inzu had no collective rights over certain areas except in the north of Ruanda (Mulera, Rwankeri, Bushiru, Bigogwe) where the Tutsi occupation had been more superficial. I have been told that there the soil belonged to the patrilineage and that there was no land or cattle chief. From the point of view of the individual, however, the situation was very similar: he inherited a share of his father's tract. The difference was that, if the part were insufficient, he had to apply for more to the lineage head instead of to the land-chief, and a plot left without heirs returned to the patrilineage instead of the political authority.

The person entitled to the use of a plot could not sell his right but could let the tract. The rent was about one hoe every other year plus a jug of beer each harvest. The tenant was not permitted to settle by building a hut or planting banana trees.

The Twa resented very much the expansion of fields and pastures in the forests they regarded as their possession. The authority was not concerned with the way they divided it into hunting areas.[1]

2. RIGHTS OVER CATTLE

The rights over each head of cattle were also manifold. Property in the Western sense was split up into different aspects.

A global right existed over all Ruanda cattle, even sheep and goats, by which the king could claim actual possession of any of them. The mwami used this right more frequently, it seems, over cattle than over land. An important chief indulging in intrigues regarded as dangerous by the king might find himself dispossessed of all his cattle. The king's right over all the cattle of Ruanda was a constant threat which seems to have very effectively deterred the Tutsi of the ruling set from becoming too independent.

Another right was very similar to our bare ownership. The person who had it was not in possession of the cow but could at any time claim possession of the animal and the heifers and cows produced by that beast since the time when the possession had been transferred. This was the right of the lord (*shebuja*).

In contrast there was the usufruct right with respect to cattle. The person endowed with it could dispose of the milk, the male increase of the cattle, and the dead cows. This was the typical right of the client (*garagu*).

[1] For a more extended account of the land tenure system in traditional Ruanda, see Maquet and Naigiziki, 1957.

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poems in imitation of these great models. They attended evening sessions near the fire, in the kraal, where by sarcasm and humiliation, their capacity for self control was put to the test.

These few companies constituted the nucleus of a new army. It was completed by detaching a certain number of people from other armies to incorporate them in the new one. Except for this, armies existed indefinitely. When a king died and when a new army was formed, the previous army founded by him did not disappear. Only some members of the former armies joined the new one. These people were not incorporated individually but with their patrilineages, primary (*inzu*) or even secondary (*umulyango*).

Except for the *intore*, it seems more accurate to say that an army was made up of patrilineages rather than of individuals. Indeed 100 per cent. of our informants affirm that a man was not affiliated alone to an army but that he was in it together with his sons, married or not, his brothers and their sons, and his paternal uncles. It was a group of agnates indeed, as the sister's sons were not included in the group according to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants. In the army, the patrilineage remained a closed group under its inzu head. Our informants were unanimous (100 per cent.) that dues and services to which the army chief was entitled had to be asked for from members through the lineage chiefs. This rule did not apply to the *intore*. They entered alone into the army, although later their children would also join. According to 100 per cent. of the informants a man belonged only to one army. The army chief was called *umugabe* or *umutware w'ingabo*.

(*b*) *The warriors' section*

In any army, according to eighty-four per cent. of our informants, there were two sections—the warrior's section and the herdsmen's section (warrior: *ingabo*, herdsman: *umushumba*). The warriors' section was made up of the few companies of men who had received the *intore* training to whom were added their personal dependents who were also fighting. Warriors did not wear a uniform but had some special badges.

As mentioned in a preceding section, a certain number of warriors of an army camped near the borders threatened by neighbouring enemies. If an attack occurred, they called the other warriors who lived nearby and, while waiting for their aid, held

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necessary to the warriors during the expeditions, and being liable for various services. 564 184 86

(c) *Army and lineage*

In its herdsmen's section, an army was constituted of patrilineages rather than individuals. According to 100 per cent. of the informants, the inzu head was the necessary intermediary between the army-chief and the army members of his lineage. He had the important task of apportioning the dues incumbent on the lineage between the different family heads. For instance when the numbering took place, he decided who was going to give, say, the three cows which were due by the lineage as such. 701 613 591

This connexion between the army, a group founded on a wide territorial basis, and the lineage, a group based on kinship, was very significant from two points of view.

Firstly, social cohesion was favoured and strengthened by the integration into one single structure of two systems which embodied different principles of grouping. In some other societies such systems remained independent. In Ruanda they formed a supple and strong network by which each Ruanda was tied to a political structure through a kinship structure.

Secondly, the authority of the inzu head over his kinsmen was limited by his incorporation in the military structure. In some circumstances an inzu member could ignore the authority of his inzu head and with the protection of his army-chief, remain independently in the army. At the numbering of cattle, for instance, he could present his own cattle separately from those of his patrilineage. This was, of course, advantageous for the chief who could claim a proportion of the cattle of the lineage plus a fraction of the cattle of the independent member. The lineage members could also bring a charge against their inzu chief before the army-chief, who could sometimes dismiss him. This limited the power of the lineage head and incited him to remain on good terms at the same time with his army-chief and the members of his inzu. This principle limiting the power of intermediary chiefs by the direct recourse of their subordinates to a superior authority had other applications in the Ruanda political organization. Its function was to reinforce the authority of the superior chief and to protect subordinates by giving them the possibility of resisting 703 613 642

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WOMEN OF BURUNDI: A STUDY OF SOCIAL VALUES*†

Ethel M. Albert

SUCCESS IN REALIZING the central values of Rundi society is, for men and women alike, dependent on inherited caste position, intelligence and "luck".[1] In this feudal, patriarchal society, the central values are political power and authority; wealth—especially cows and lands and, today, money and the goods and services it can purchase; respect and love from one's dependants; and elegance of appearance, manners and material possessions. What is needed before all else for obtaining the good things of life, the Rundi say, is the favour of *Imana*, the Supreme Being or Providence. Divine favour is also requisite to the realization of such other important values as numerous children, protection against one's many enemies, and the retention of goods already obtained. The chief terrestrial asset for realizing values is position in the social hierarchy.[2] The likelihood of happiness is greatest for the *mwami*, the king, and for the men and women of the royal and princely patrilineages. Opportunity and hope diminish progressively with decreasing status in the hierarchy, through the patrilineages of the Tutsi herders, the Hutu farmers and serfs, and, at the bottom, the Twa, potters and pariahs.

Women, in so markedly patriarchal and patrilineal a society as

*Author's translation.

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564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to
613 differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
[583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In
644 general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
582 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
613 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
643 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence
[766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a
562 very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
582 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
613 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambiguous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases).

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child.

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives.

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the

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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

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groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please